1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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villagers feel a need to turn outward away from the village. Therefore, although the villagers themselves continue to see their local kinship-based organizations as *tsu*, not simply groups aimed at preserving a patrilineal tie, and also continue to try to make them function as *tsu*, their strong identity with, dependence on, and submission to the authority of their *tsu* organizations is now being undermined.

THE ECONOMIC FAMILY

In Hsin Hsing village the economic family, the *chia*, is the basic socioeconomic unit. It is "a unit consisting of members related to each other by blood, marriage or adoption, and having a common budget and common property" (Lang, 1946:15). The household or *hu* may in theory include temporary residents such as relatives or servants in addition to the members of the economic family. Since there are seldom additional people in Hsin Hsing families (or in families in the area generally), the *chia* and the *hu* almost always coincide in the village, and the average number of persons in it for Hsin Hsing is 6.1. It is the *hu* which is officially registered at the local Hsiang Public Office and as such is considered the official tax unit.[4]

The economic family in Hsin Hsing may take one of three forms—conjugal, stem, or joint; sometimes a family may change through all three forms over a relatively short period of time. The most prevalent type of family in Hsin Hsing is the conjugal, the *hsiao chia-t'ing* or "small family." This family "consists of man, wife or wives, and [unmarried] children. Families of this type may be either complete or 'broken;' the category includes childless couples, families consisting of . . . unmarried brothers and sisters, single persons . . ." (Lang, 1946:14). Others prefer to consider the latter two forms of unmarried siblings or single persons as subconjugal families. Thus, in Hsin Hsing village, sixty-five households (about 66 percent of the total) are conjugal. These comprise only about 55 percent of the total population, since the average conjugal family consists of only 5.18 persons.

For the villagers, the ideal form of economic family is the joint family (*ta chia-t'ing*), usually comprised of at least three generations, and preferably more. According to Lang (1946:14) the joint family includes "parents, their unmarried children, their married sons (more than one) and sons' wives and children" and sometimes other relatives. Or there may be only one of the older parents and the married sons and their families; in another variant the oldest brother "presides over his [unmarried sisters], married and unmarried brothers, with their wives and his children and their children . . ." (Lang, 1946:14).[5] One can more specifically refer to this type as a fraternal joint family.

However, in Hsin Hsing village the *ta chia-t'ing*, although usually

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dowry are considered to belong to the individual. Consequently if there is a divorce, the woman may take these things with her. Under such a system in the Hsin Hsing area, when a *chia* is dissolved as a cooperating economic unit, all sons are entitled to an equal share of all family property. 596

The structure of all types of economic family is hierarchal according to generation and age, and the oldest male, at least until his retirement, serves as family head (*chia chang*). However, the wife of the *chia chang* usually plays an important part in the making of family decisions, especially those related to household affairs or to important financial matters. Thus, in the joint family, while the authority within each of the several conjugal units lies with the husband and father of that unit, the ultimate authority for all members of the larger family theoretically lies with the *chia chang* and his wife. 592 [562]

In the joint or stem families of Hsin Hsing, however, it is common for all married sons (or the married son in the stem family) to share in most of the family's decision-making. This seems most true in the larger families where each adult male's financial contribution is indispensable to the continuation of the stem or joint form which the parents, above all, wish to maintain. In such situations, when making an important decision the *chia chang* willingly confers with the other adults in the family and may actually yield to their wishes. On the other hand, in larger families which are economically secure, since the *chia chang* has complete control of the family's economic assets, he appears to be much more dominant and authoritarian in imposing his will on the members of the *chia*. 596

Normally, as a *chia chang* in Hsin Hsing grows older, he gradually relinquishes his responsibilities to his oldest son, slowly training him to assume full family authority. Sometimes, however, the old *chia chang* is unwilling to retire and give up his authority. In such instances, the oldest son must gradually usurp the old man's powers, but this must be done delicately, or the village will criticize him as an unfilial son. Here, the old *chia chang's* loss of authority does not imply any loss of respect for him.

Even after his full retirement and the transfer of actual family authority to a son, it is quite common for the old man to retain the title of *chia chang* while the son performs all the duties. In such cases, the villagers are aware of the situation and respect it. Therefore, if they must choose or elect someone to fill a village office, they may name the old *chia chang* who is officially family head, understanding that it will be his son who assumes the duties of the position.

While each stem and joint family consists of at least two conjugal families, these conjugal families have, for the most part, a merely biological identity. All the functions it might have in other circum- 596 594

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stances are almost completely subsumed within the structure of the larger economic family of which it is a part.

When a son or brother marries and forms another nuclear or conjugal family within the joint or stem family, the newlyweds are given their own small apartment or room within the larger house. If there is no additional space and the family can afford it, a small room or set of rooms may be added on to the house, possibly in the form of an additional wing. In any case, the new couple always has its own sleeping quarters.

However, even though the son, his wife, and children, if any, live together in their separate quarters in the large house, all of them are expected to function primarily as members of the larger family. Ordinarily, if the members of any of the conjugal families which make up the larger *chia* begin to or attempt to function as an independent unit rather than as members of the joint or stem family, it is not long before family division takes place. Therefore, whatever their private relations within the confines of their own quarters, a husband and wife, at least until they become older, relate to one another almost strictly as two members of a larger family rather than as husband and wife. In public the two never display any affection or, in fact, have much to do with each other beyond the contacts necessary to carry on the family's affairs.

A husband and wife, until they are middle-aged, rarely go anywhere together. If circumstances require them to go to the same place, they usually go and return separately. When an outsider is present, husband and wife do not eat together, and, in fact, only the men sit at the table; the women remain in the kitchen. At family mealtimes the men usually eat informally, often not at a table, while the women busy themselves with the cooking and cleaning up, taking their own food when they have a chance after the men are through.

While the adult males of the *chia* take care of most of the work on the land, the women are responsible for household duties and many other chores—tending livestock, drying and preserving certain crops, and performing lighter agricultural tasks in the fields. In the joint family, the wife of the *chia chang* usually spends much of her time supervising her daughters-in-law, helping to tend to the grandchildren and doing other light tasks. In a joint family the daughters-in-law usually rotate the tasks among themselves. For several days in a row each in turn will rise before dawn, tend the fire, and prepare the food for the entire family. The other daughters-in-law meanwhile do other tasks either around the house or in the fields. When a mother must be away from the house, her unweaned child is at times nursed by one of the other daughters-in-law or even by a neighbor who has milk.

The unmarried younger daughters of the *chia chang* usually keep to

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596 the above description fits perfectly. While the large joint families in the village constitute only a small minority, the form is nevertheless within the realm of achievement for a family which can manage to have enough children who work hard and cooperate toward this end.

596 As was pointed out earlier, although the majority of the economic families in the village are conjugal, there is a natural cyclic process through which any family may evolve three different forms in a few years. Many conjugal families do develop into the stem form and some into the joint, but usually it is not long before division takes place and the family is once more reduced to a simpler form.

FAMILY DIVISION

596 There are certain inherent difficulties in the large family form 434 which almost inevitably lead to eventual division of a large family. An 578 insufficient economic base and land scarcity are probably the most common reasons for division. A *chia* may have enough sons to form a large family, but there may not be enough land to maintain a group of several small families, and it may be difficult to obtain the additional land needed for their maintenance.

The family's economic inadequacy frequently gives rise to many divisive forces. A son, and especially his wife, may come to feel that the other family members are not contributing equitably to the family maintenance and are thus the cause of the inadequate family income. These feelings may be based on fact. One son may not be working as hard as the others, and have more children than the others, or a son or brother may be absent from the village, leaving his family behind. For [702] example, in 1958 several twenty-nine-year-old men with families were conscripted for military service for two years. The district Public Office decided in some cases that the conscriptees' brothers who had separate *chia* could help support their families. But in all of those cases where conscriptees belonged to joint families, the *chia* is not only deprived of the man's usual contributions but always has to support his wife and children and, in addition, send him a monthly supplement to his inadequate army pay. It is considered selfish under such circumstances for the rest of the family to wish to divide the economic household and land because one member is not earning his keep, but, as evidenced in Hsin Hsing, it does happen.

[459] Usually, there is no problem if a son goes to Taipei to work, [167] leaving his wife and children behind with the joint family, as long as he regularly sends money home. However, there have been incidents where a man was caught up in the ways of the big city—perhaps with another woman or merely with its entertainment—and sent little or [606] no money back. Under such circumstances the idea of family division is likely to come up, probably initiated and encouraged by the

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around the house, or just relaxing. A man with few sons and very little land will have to continue to work the land well into his old age.

Although the reasons for family division are varied, there are standard procedures for implementing the process. The actual division is carried out through the customary process of mediation by a person called in to help work out an amicable settlement. This man may be a *tsu* relative, a respected fellow villager, or a maternal relative. Family division entails the equal division among all sons of all property belonging to the large family. All the land must be evaluated according to its productive capacity and location. Where the amount of land cultivated is very small, the members of the family may in rare instances agree to draw lots. The winner of the drawing gets all the land and pays his brothers for their share; they may then go to the city to support their families.

In the division of the house, each new *chia* retains its own apartment or rooms. The family's large brick stove usually goes to the oldest son, while the others use small charcoal stoves until they can build their own brick stoves. Sometimes, until they are well settled under the new family arrangements, the *chia* of the younger brothers may continue to use the original family kitchen and stove.

Although the division often results from or causes bad feelings between the newly formed *chia*, there is a great deal of interaction among the members of the family even after the family property has been divided. Such related families frequently share in the use of certain tools and farm implements, either through mutual lending or joint ownership. Since they are both relatives and neighbors, such families may also continue mutual aid and cooperation with one another in everyday tasks.

THE "ANCESTRAL GROUP"

Perhaps one of the most important unifying factors which joins divided families, as well as *tsu* organizations, is their joint religious activities. Although economic reasons may have divided the larger family, certain religious ceremonies continue to be a joint function. Ancestor worship and participation in funeral rituals for patrilineal relatives are two of the most important religious activities for the family. The one part of the house excepted from the division is the central room known as the *kung t'ing*, which contains the family's ancestral tablets, altar, and sometimes statues of gods which are owned jointly by the families. The room and its contents continue to be the common property of all the members of the separated families.

The conjugal families which now form independent *chia* (economic families) in their turn begin the process of expansion into joint or

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stem families as sons marry and have children; they may ultimately go through a similar process of division. In this manner, over a few generations a larger patrilineal kinship group develops which takes on the activities and functions of a *tsu* organization and is considered to be such by its members. The original *kung t'ing* is retained and continues to be used for the common religious activities of the enlarged kinship group. In Hsin Hsing, as the patrilineal kinship group expands, brothers often keep their own immediate ancestors' tablets, such as that of their parents' and sometimes grandparents', in a semiformal *kung t'ing* in their own quarters. However, ceremonies honoring the earliest ancestors are still held in the main *tsu kung t'ing* and are attended usually by representatives of all the *tsu* families. If a family moves permanently from the village to the city, it might make an entirely new copy of the ancestral tablet so that all of its own recent ancestors can be worshipped in the family's new locale.

Thus, the kinship group or, when it grows large enough, the *tsu* remains unified or at least is regularly unified on certain occasions as a "religious family." Kulp (1925:145–146) has called it "the practical unit of ancestral worship." The religious family "becomes a conscious unit only during the ceremonies of ancestral worship and varies according to the ancestor worshipped at any one time. It thus includes all those persons who ordinarily come together for ancestor worship." Only direct ancestors (or forebears considered to be such) are worshipped. A religious family is thus composed only of relatives who share common descent from a direct ancestor. The size of the family varies accordingly. While a *tsu* of over a hundred people, like the Huangs in Hsin Hsing, form a religious family to worship their founding ancestor, only the several *chia* of several brothers make up the religious family which combines to worship their deceased father, since he is not the direct ancestor of his brother's children or the other members of the *tsu*. The size and composition of a religious family is thus a function of the ancestor worshipped on any occasion. Thus, one notes that in Hsin Hsing village, when the members of a *tsu* worship their founding or earliest ancestors (whom they share in common), the *tsu* and religious family are identical. At other times a functioning religious family may be only a small portion of the *tsu*.

The newly separated households of the religious family function as a conscious unit for more than the actual ceremonies of ancestral worship. Although attendance at the ceremonies is frequently limited to representatives of each *chia*, other family members are drawn together by the organization, planning, and economic cooperation frequently necessary for such worship. An *esprit de corps* unifies the families in ancestor worship as well as in their mutual participation in rituals upon the death of a *tsu* relative.

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of his father-in-law, work for the family as he would for his own, give at least the second-born child the wife's surname, and sometimes even promise that he and any offspring from the marriage will worship the wife's ancestors. In return, the adopted husband's family is spared the usual heavy expenses of marriage, and the man himself gets a wife whom he could not normally afford. He can raise a family, even if it will not be fully under his own authority for a number of years. Most important of all, he is promised either a definite sum of money or rice or a certain amount of land at the expiration of the contract period. 583 675 [591]

At the end of the contract period the adopted husband with his wife and children may remain in the wife's family home if they get along well with them, especially with her younger brother's family. More often, the family will divide into two separate units, although the wife with her adopted husband and children may remain in the same house or village with her family. However, when the two families do not get along well and the husband is too bothered by his inferior status in his wife's village, he may move his wife and children to his own village if there is room in his family's house or village and if he can manage to earn a living there. It seems to be more common for the adopted husband to take his wife and children to another place after fulfilling his contract than to remain with his wife's family. Although an adopted husband who has a forceful personality may assume actual authority over his family, after the separation from the wife's family, it is the wife and not the husband who is officially recognized as the *chia chang* of the family. 583 675 591 594 [558]

Sometimes a husband is adopted into a family which has no sons in order to furnish descendants. The adoption of a husband for this purpose differs in one important way from the adoption of a husband when the wife has a younger brother. The living arrangement of the adopted husband in the girl's family is likely to become permanent. Since there is no younger brother and his family to complicate family relations, the adopted husband and his wife and children may simply continue to live with the wife's family and therefore transmit the names of both families through their children. 583 591

Whether the family of the wife and her adopted husband remains in her family's house or goes to live in his natal village or family home, the general manner of naming children and assigning descent lines is the same. Usually, the first child is given the father's surname, and the second child—whether it is a boy or a girl—receives the mother's family name. All subsequent children bear the father's surname. The one child bearing the surname of the mother's family will inherit property through that family, and is responsible for carrying on the mother's line and the worship of her ancestors. If, however, no child is given the mother's family name, as is sometimes the case if there is no property 583 551 611 428

remain in the village, the parents may live in the same room of the divided house in which they have always lived but take their meals with one family on some days and with the other on other days. On occasion, one also finds elderly parents who live alternately with sons residing in different localities. One of the most pitiful fates of anyone living in the village was that of an old lady who spent one month with each of her five sons who were living in five different areas of the Taipei basin.

As a result of the fact that most parents live with one of their married sons, the division of the family typically produces one stem family and one elementary family. The only exceptions are those cases in which the family has more than two married sons, in which case the division produces one stem family and several elementary families, and those cases in which the parents live alternatiely with several married sons, creating what we might call partial stem families. One might therefore expect to find in Hsiachichou an approximately equal number of stem families and elementary families in this stage of the family cycle, but this is not the case. As we have mentioned above, many young men leave the village after the division of their joint family, and when they do they seldom take their parents with them. Even if two brothers both decide to remain, this will usually not create an elementary family in the village because the parents are then likely to live alternately with the two families. The result is that one finds very few elementary families living in the village whose senior members are a young married couple. Although there were 24 elementary families living in

596 Hsiachichou in 1960, only 5 were families in which the senior generation
• 594 was under forty years of age, and of these 5 cases 3 were families in
621 which the parents had died at an abnormally early age. Insofar as the population of Hsiachichou is concerned, the product of family division is either one stem family or several partial stem families. Elementary families with a young membership may have been more common thirty or forty years ago before immigration to the city became common, but even then they probably never constituted a major part of the village population. There were fewer parents then who had more than one son reach marriageable age, so that fewer families divided.

596 In a few stem families one finds much the same structure as is found
886 in the joint family, the father serving as kā-tiû: and managing the family finances. As a general rule, however, a father will turn over the effective management of the family to a son as soon as he is no longer able to contribute to the family income, and, since most fathers will have reached this age shortly after the time at which the family is divided, it is usually a son who is the manager of the stem family. Some fathers will retain the official title of kā-tiû:, continuing to represent the family in village affairs and at weddings, funerals, and religious festivals, but a son usually assumes the responsibility for the internal affairs of the family. In theory, a son should always defer to his father should he care to express himself on any particular issue, but in practice many old men have very little voice in the affairs of their kê. The feared Chinese patriarch of western imagination is, in fact, often nothing more than a poor wretch complaining that his sons refuse him tobacco money.

596 The stem family usually lasts five to seven years and is then re-
599 duced to an elementary family upon the deaths of the senior generation.
178 The next phase of the family cycle, that of the elementary family, typically lasts somewhere between five and ten years. Whether it is shorter or longer depends, of course, upon how young the grandchildren of the family marry and how long the grandparents live. On the average it has probably remained fairly constant over the past fifty years.
[582] The higher standards of living of the past two or three decades have tended to lengthen the average lifespan, but this has been offset by the fact that during the same period of time the age at marriage has moved up from somewhere between 18 and 19 years to between 22 and 23. Very few of the young married couples in Hsiachichou in 1960 were living in the same house with a grandparent. Of the 15 married men under the age of thirty only 4 lived in a family which included one grandparent, and none of these lived in families in which both grandparents were alive.

*593 The phase of the elementary family might be characterised as one of relative quiesence. For the husband, his quarrels with his brothers are no longer active concerns, and such tension as there may have been between him and his father has been terminated by his father's death. For his wife, the long period of trial with her mother-in-law is over, and as yet she does not have a daughter-in-law of her own. Later a man may have difficulties with his own sons, but at this age they are usually very much under his control. We must not forget, however, that while there may be few tensions in the family at this

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Table 6. Summary of Household Types in Sanlei Village

Type	Families		People		Size	
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	Mean	Median
Extended	8	12.1	81	19.8	8.1	8.5
Stem	25	37.9	166	40.6	6.6	7.0
Nuclear	33	50.0	162	39.6	4.9	5.0
TOTAL	66	100.0	409	100.0	6.2	6.0

592 a stem family until either the son establishes a new residence resulting in two nuclear families, or both parents die, or until the second child marries and brings home a wife creating an extended family. There are 25 stem families in Sanlei, 37.9% of the 66 households, ranging in size from 3 to 14 members with an average size of 6.6. 40.6% of Sanlei villagers are living in households of this type (see Table 6).

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594 The final type of family is the conjugal or nuclear, the most elemental and simple. It consists, at a maximum, of a married couple with their unmarried children or at a minimum, of a single person living alone (Lang, 1946:14), the latter example perhaps stretching the concept of family to its ultimate absurdity. Including the three households which contain men living alone, there are 33 nuclear families, 50.0% of the 66 households, ranging in size up to 9 members with an average of 4.9 members. 39.6% of Sanlei villagers are living in nuclear households. If

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• 594 621 the three single men are omitted, the range in size is from 2 to 9 with an average of 5.2. The distribution of these three family types is indicated in Table 6.

Historical Changes in Family Size

178 59 621 Historically, there has been a steady growth in the average size of the family in Taiwan (see Table 7). There is an additional factor however, which is not revealed in the kinds of data usually presented. There is an increasing percentage of stem and extended families at the expense of nuclear families in the rural area. While the average size of the family in Sanlei Ts'un is about the same as Taiwan's overall figure, it is significant that sixty per cent of Sanlei villagers are living in households larger than the nuclear family. Several explanations for this development can be suggested.

121 178 59 One reason is related to a concept recently developed in a provocative article by Marion Levy which was supported mathematically by Ansley Coale (1965:1-69). Levy draws on the work of demographers who posit a demographic transition characterized by three stages: (I) high birth rate and high death rate, (II) high birth rate and low death rate, and (III) low birth rate and low death rate. Levy argues that in Stage III, the "actual" family is the nuclear type. A nuclear type is necessary because of the restraints imposed by the larger society.[4] Moreover, the "ideal" size will be congruent with the "actual" size.

return until after New Year although part of their responsibilities are borne by Heavenly gods who come down to serve as substitutes. Because the substitutes are not as conscientious in maintaining their vigils and reporting misdeeds, many activities not normally permitted are carried out during the absence of the regular gods, i.e., the house is thoroughly cleaned and many marriages are consummated, especially those that might be of questionable value as for instance, with an adopted daughter or between two people with surnames who should not marry. The gods are sent off with special ceremonies and will be welcomed back with another set of ceremonies on the fourth day of the first month. A household distributes New Year cakes to friends and to anyone who has not experienced a death in the family during the year.

For most of the above events, although details vary, worship activities include food sacrifices, fire crackers, and the burning of paper money. Worship activities always are held in the kung t'ing of the family home or in the courtyard immediately outside. Frequently there is worship as well in the Sanlei temple and the T'u Ti Kung temple and less often in the li temple in Erhlei. Where possible, there should be dinner parties with guests. Since everyone in the area is usually celebrating the calendric holidays on the same day, guests are difficult to obtain. Some migrants come back from the city to participate and poorer